Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3429th Meeting

Thursday, 29 September 1994, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Solana Madariaga	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Amorim
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Bratinka
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Juppé
	New Zealand	Mr. McKinnon
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Bin Abdulla
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Christopher

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1107)

94-86445 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Expression of welcome

The President ***(interpretation from Spanish):*** I should like, at the outset of the meeting, to acknowledge the presence at the Council table of the distinguished Minister of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil, His Excellency Mr. Celso Luiz Nunes Amorim; the distinguished Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, His Excellency Mr. Pavel Bratinka; the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, His Excellency Mr. Alain Juppé; the distinguished Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of New Zealand, His Excellency The Right Honourable Donald Charles McKinnon; the distinguished Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Sultanate of Oman, His Excellency Mr. Yousef Bin Al-Alawi Bin Abdulla; and the distinguished Secretary of State of the United States of America, His Excellency The Honorable Warren Christopher. On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to all of them.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1107)

The President ***(interpretation from Spanish):*** I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Haiti in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1107, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the report of the multinational force in Haiti.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1051 and S/1994/1054, letters dated 13 September 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council, respectively; S/1994/1077, letter dated 20 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a declaration by the European Union on Haiti issued on 19 September 1994; and S/1994/1097, letter dated 26 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a statement by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide dated 25 September 1994.

The first speaker is the distinguished Secretary of State of the United States of America, His Excellency The Honourable Warren Christopher. I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. Christopher (United States of America): Mr. President, distinguished members of the Security Council, Mr. Secretary-General, colleagues and friends, I am particularly honoured by the presence of each of you this morning and thank you for your attendance and attention. I am pleased to have an opportunity to review with you the status of our joint efforts in Haiti.

The Security Council, of course, continues to play a vital role in giving Haiti and the people of Haiti a chance to take back their destiny. Our shared determination is to deliver tangible results: The Haitian military leaders will step down. Legitimate government will be restored. The people of Haiti will have a chance

to rebuild their country on a stable foundation of democracy and respect for human rights.

The multinational coalition in Haiti is the culmination of three years of intensive, coordinated efforts by the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the friends and neighbours of Haiti. Since the 1991 *coup*, this Council has viewed the overthrow of democracy in Haiti as a threat to regional security and to international norms. We recognized our responsibility to stand together for stability and the restoration of democratic government in the Western Hemisphere. Together, we explored every avenue to achieve a peaceful resolution. We negotiated in good faith. We imposed and then strengthened sanctions against Haiti. We made plain to the military leaders that their tyranny in Haiti was neither tolerable nor tenable.

For almost three years, these military leaders met our efforts with defiance and disdain. In 1993, General Cédras signed the Governors Island Agreement, which had been negotiated under United Nations auspices. But thereafter he refused to implement the accord. Instead, widespread atrocities continued in Haiti. Three months ago, the military leaders expelled the monitors sent by the United Nations and the Organization of American States to encourage respect for human rights in Haiti. After that happened, this Council determined that the time had come to take decisive action.

As we all know, Security Council resolution 940 (1994) and the multinational coalition that it authorized are an expression of our collective resolve. An expanding coalition of 28 nations, so geographically diverse as to include Bangladesh and Bolivia, has been forged in pursuit of a common cause. This coalition is in the best tradition of the United Nations. It is grounded in principled diplomacy and it is backed by the determination to use force if necessary.

Our willingness to exercise military force, pursuant to resolution 940 (1994), has allowed us to reach an agreement for the peaceful restoration of democracy that has made the Mission safer for our coalition and for the Haitian people. It is enabling us to implement our common goals: the departure from power of the de facto leaders, the restoration of Haiti's legitimate Government and the return of President Aristide. It is allowing us to establish a safe and secure environment much more quickly than would otherwise have been possible.

As leader of the multinational coalition in Haiti, the United States values and depends upon close coordination and consultation with other Member States. To that end, today I want to report to the Council on our progress to date; I hope this will be a very up-to-date report.

As the Council knows, the first 3,000 soldiers stepped off their helicopters and landing craft on 19 September, less than two weeks ago. Since then their ranks have grown to almost 16,000. The coalition has taken swift and important steps towards establishing a secure and stable environment in Haiti.

Among the immediate priorities was to secure the airport in Port-au-Prince and the seaports around the country. With the transportation hubs under control, we have moved nearly 42,000 tons of supplies into Haiti.

Another important element of promoting security is reducing the number of guns on the streets, and our coalition is taking a variety of measures to achieve that goal.

Hundreds of coalition forces are in training in Puerto Rico, on their way to oversee and monitor the police in Haiti. The first group of international police monitors will arrive in Haiti in the next few days.

With the coalition's deployment, the time has come to prepare for the resumption of normal economic activities in Haiti. The United States and Haiti have introduced, with President Aristide's support, a draft resolution in the Council to lift completely United Nations sanctions when President Aristide returns. By adopting this draft resolution, we will reinforce Haitian democracy and we will signal our readiness to support Haiti's recovery as soon as democratic government is restored.

As President Clinton announced on Monday of this week, we will also act expeditiously, consistent with resolution 917 (1994) and the "all necessary means" provision of resolution 940 (1994), to allow goods essential to the coalition's efforts to enter Haiti. In addition, the United States will lift all unilateral sanctions on Haiti except those targeted on the *coup* leaders and their named supporters. We urge other nations that may have unilateral sanctions to consider and take similar steps.

Part of the coalition's task is to create conditions in which the refugees from Haiti can safely return. Hundreds of Haitians, now reassured that they can walk their streets, sleep in their homes without fear and speak

their minds, have voluntarily left Guantánamo since 26 September to return to Haiti. We are confident that with President Aristide's restoration many more will make the right choice and go back to their homeland.

I believe that political developments in Haiti are a reason for cautious optimism. Two weeks ago, President Aristide eloquently demonstrated his commitment to democracy when he said very forthrightly that the true test of a democracy is in its second free election. He also said that he would not be a candidate for re-election in the campaign, but would ensure that the election took place. In recent days and weeks he has repeatedly called for a spirit of reconciliation, and he has been making frequent radio statements urging the people of Haiti - his supporters - to remain calm and not to disrupt the peaceful transition.

President Aristide has also called the Haitian Parliament into session, with the amnesty law as the first order of business. As the Council knows, the Parliament began its deliberations only yesterday. It is interesting to remember and important to note that only two weeks ago many Haitian parliamentarians were in hiding, fearful for their lives, and many were also in exile. Now the presence of the coalition permits them to emerge and to represent the people of Haiti in safety.

Another hopeful step will be occurring today: Mayor Evans Paul of Port-au-Prince, who has been barred from City Hall by armed thugs for the last year, will reclaim his rightful office.

I think we can all take satisfaction in the superb efforts of the coalition forces in Haiti. We should remember that only two weeks ago elements of the Haitian security forces and the attachés were free to intimidate the public with impunity. Today, coalition forces allow Haitians to enjoy their first respite from terror in three years. The competence and, indeed, the compassion of our troops have inspired the confidence of the Haitian people.

I do want to note, however, that the international community has taken on a very serious challenge in Haiti. Our courageous troops will face difficult, and sometimes dangerous, situations; that moment is not yet completely past. There will be risks, even setbacks, and we must be ready for them. Our hard work and commitment are essential. But we must know that we have the plans and the determination to move ahead - and we will.

A top priority for the coalition, of course, is to enable the United Nations mission to enter Haiti promptly and under conditions that will allow it to assume its full responsibilities. The United States will do its part to ensure an early and smooth transition of authority from the coalition to the United Nations Mission.

Twelve observers from the United Nations Mission are already in Haiti to plan for the coordination of this important change. They are working closely with General Shelton of the coalition forces.

Just as the coalition is fulfilling its mandate in Haiti, so the United Nations Mission must be ready to assume responsibility when a safe environment has been secured. Most of the nations participating in the coalition, including, of course, the United States, have indicated that they will also participate in the United Nations Mission. A number of other nations have expressed an interest in joining. Clearly, the support of this Council, of Member States and of the Secretary-General will be essential to ensure that the transition is seamless and effective.

Our mission in Haiti reminds us once again of the importance of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The United States is providing $1.2 billion for peace-keeping this year, a step which will bring up to date our arrearages and be a major step towards meeting our overall obligations. We have also proposed reforms to improve the way in which the peace-keeping operations are financed, equipped and organized.

When we act, and when we ask the United Nations to act, as we have done in Haiti, we must provide it with the means for mounting successful missions in a timely manner. The multinational coalition will establish, and the United Nations Mission will help maintain, a secure environment in Haiti. But the broader international community must provide Haiti with the economic, humanitarian and technical aid that will spur development and consolidate democracy. As members of the Council know, an intensive and extensive humanitarian assistance programme is already under way. Food, medicine and medical supplies are being distributed. Sanitation is being improved. Engineering teams are helping to restore electricity throughout the country.

Last month, a World Bank meeting of many countries represented here favourably reviewed President Aristide's economic recovery programme. One of the striking things for us in the United States has been to

witness the technical expertise that President Aristide has assembled in planning for his return. I think we can draw some confidence from the way that that has been undertaken and planned.

The United States is already committed to providing $100 million, and we are ready to provide additional aid. But our effort here must be part of a larger undertaking, and we look to other nations and the international financial institutions to respond rapidly and generously.

The importance of supporting Haiti's recovery and reconstruction in the months ahead cannot be overstated. Assistance will be essential to provide balance-of-payments support and to clear up the Haitian arrears, an effort that will begin in earnest with a support group meeting which our Treasury Department is hosting on 7 October 1994. On behalf of the United States, I strongly urge the members of this Council and other nations to do everything possible now to support Haiti on the road to economic recovery.

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere, and one of the poorest in the world. But Haiti is not a State without institutions or without promise. It is a State with an elected government, an elected parliament and a democratic constitution, all of which were pushed aside in 1991 by the de facto regime and its coup. The coalition's mission is not to reinvent or to provide new institutions, but to create conditions that will allow Haiti's legitimate institutions to return.

All of us know that the coalition, the United Nations Mission and economic assistance cannot and should not be a substitute for determined efforts by Haiti's Government and by its people to build a democratic and prosperous society. The hard work of rebuilding Haiti rests with them and with Haiti's democratic leaders, who fully understand what their responsibilities and obligations are.

Haiti has an opportunity to replace the rule of fear with the rule of law, to take its rightful place in the growing community of democratic States, to work with the international community to solve the transnational problems we all face, and, very significantly, to become an international inspiration and not an outcast.

In closing, I wish to reaffirm the indispensable role that the international community has played in bringing Haiti to this hopeful point. By our joining together in strength, the burden that each of us must bear is reduced and the prospect of overall success is increased. Our nations understand that the best way to achieve our goal is by acting together. That is what we reaffirmed, that is what we indicated so strongly when we adopted resolution 940 (1994); that is what we are doing today, and that is what we must do in the months ahead: using our collective strength to restore democracy within our hemisphere and to create the important precedent that would come from success in Haiti.

I thank the President and the members of the Council for their attention.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The next speaker is the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, Mr. Alain Juppé. I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. Juppé (France) *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to thank the Secretary of State of the United States for the very precise account he has given us of the deployment of the multinational force that was authorized under Security Council resolution 940 (1994). As the Council is aware, France voted unhesitatingly for that resolution because we were aware that only a radical solution could make it possible to get this crisis off dead centre. My country welcomes the peaceful circumstances under which this operation is taking place, and we would like to pay a tribute to those who are conducting it, as well as to the troops who are participating in it.

Today, therefore, we can contemplate with some hope the situation in Haiti. After three long years of usurpation of power by the military, during which the principles of democracy were flouted, human rights were violated, the economy was devastated and the agreements signed never respected, the people of Haiti can finally hope to resume their journey towards democracy and development.

A date has been fixed for the departure of the military. It must be respected, and the presence of several thousand troops and police is a guarantee that it will be. In the streets, fear has started to recede; in the parliament, political life has resumed since the Haitian deputies were finally able to meet yesterday at an inaugural meeting, and it should now begin to discuss the legislative texts needed to pursue the process of democratization in the country. I am thinking in particular of the amnesty bill and the law concerning the separation of the army and the police. The adoption of these texts was a part of the Governors Island

Agreements, which were and remain the basis of France's policy towards Haiti.

In a few weeks, perhaps - or even, we hope, in a few days - the legitimately elected President will return to his country and to his people. France which, together with the other Friends of Haiti meeting at the United Nations with the Secretary-General, has constantly been making efforts to permit legality to be restored to that country, is gratified with this result. We hope that this return will mark a new era of peace, justice, democracy - which implies the organization of elections in accordance with the timetable laid down - economic recovery and, in particular, national reconciliation.

The time has now come for Haiti to regain its rightful place in the international community. France believes that now a very clear political signal needs to be sent out by a decision, as has been proposed, to lift the sanctions in accordance with the Security Council resolutions, a decision which will take effect the day after the return of President Aristide to Port-au-Prince. France, for its part, is prepared to lift the unilateral sanctions that it imposed as soon as technical conditions make this possible.

My country has long-standing historic ties with Haiti and, as is known, will contribute 100 police officers and gendarmes to the United Nations mission. We are also prepared to resume bilateral cooperation programmes as soon as conditions make this possible. This cooperation has in the past been substantial, as is well known.

Thus, according to what President Aristide himself has said, Haiti can now resume its journey from destitution and poverty to the recovery with dignity and with the assistance of the international community. This is earnestly desired by France.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Permit me very briefly to express my thanks to the Secretary of State of the United States for his update on developments concerning the multinational force in Haiti.

Our contribution to that force is a contingent of gendarmes who will act as police monitors. They are already in Puerto Rico and, as of next week, will begin their work on Haitian soil. Immediately afterwards, medical personnel and engineers of the Argentine armed forces will arrive in Haiti. Similarly, two ships of our navy will supplement their verification tasks under the embargo imposed by the Council, which it has been carrying out for months, with logistical support for the multinational force.

The Argentine Republic, which belongs to the Secretary-General's Group of Friends for Haiti, has also been very actively involved in several aspects of the Haitian crisis with a view to reaching a peaceful solution. We reiterate that the only viable solution requires the full restoration of constitutional order and the return of President Aristide in the context of compliance with the Governors Island Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions.

We believe that the present situation is a positive one and that we are closer than ever to the solution foreseen by the international community, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the will of the legitimate Government of Haiti. In this regard, we eagerly await the return of President Aristide so that the sanctions imposed on Haiti can be lifted. We hope that a resolution foreseeing that eventuality will be adopted by this Council in a matter of hours.

The people of Haiti has noticed that the hope of escaping from its past is beginning to materialize. The Argentine Republic is pleased to be able to contribute to this cooperative effort to restore to Haiti its plundered sovereignty.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the Minister of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil, His Excellency Mr. Celso Luiz Nunes Amorim, on whom I now call.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil): Let me express my satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over our deliberations. I also wish to thank Secretary of State Warren Christopher for the information he has just provided the Security Council on the situation in Haiti. This has been very useful.

The Brazilian Government continues to follow very closely the situation in the sister nation of Haiti. Since the disruption of constitutional rule in Haiti, we have consistently supported the restoration of democracy in that country with the return to power of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The seriousness of the crisis in Haiti requires the continued attention of the international community, but as expressed on several occasions, we think that whatever action is taken should be fully consistent with the

Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, and especially with the basic principle of non-intervention.

We have taken note that a traumatic military operation was avoided. Nevertheless, I must express my concern and the concern of my Government over the very fact that foreign military forces are deployed in the territory of a Latin American country. This is a disturbing precedent. We continue to support the diplomatic efforts of the international community towards the peaceful and prompt solution of the crisis in Haiti. Of course, my country will not fail to support the democratic reconstruction of Haiti in full respect of its sovereignty and in compliance with the principles of non-intervention and self-determination.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain.

I wish to thank Secretary of State Christopher for his presence here today. We listened with interest and attention to his statement, which has brought clarity to the situation in Haiti and to the activities and objectives of the presence in that country of the multinational force authorized under Security Council resolution 940 (1994).

I believe that it is quite appropriate to pay a tribute to the multinational force and to the countries that contribute to it. The force is acting in compliance with the objectives of the international community as expressed in successive Security Council resolutions. We hope that task of the multinational force can be carried out as foreseen. We welcome the fact that it has so far developed in what might be called a satisfactory manner.

We are on the eve of the restoration of the legitimate authorities of Haiti and the return of President Aristide as foreseen in the Governors Island Agreement. In and of themselves, these two circumstances do not protect Haiti from prevailing dangers and political threats, or from difficult economic and social realities. They are of crucial importance nevertheless as a point of departure on the road to hope which we share today with the entire Haitian nation.

This Council will continue to follow developments of the situation in Haiti. The international community has shown its commitment to that country, a commitment that is firm in all its dimensions. The nature of that commitment requires that it be ongoing, which should be manifested in assistance to the Haitian people and institutions, so that reconstruction and economic and social development in Haiti can follow the restoration of its legitimate authorities.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

The representative of Haiti has asked to make a statement, and I now call on him.

Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) *(interpretation from French):* I should like first of all to thank Secretary of State Warren Christopher for his statement on the progress being made in Haiti thanks to the presence of the multinational force.

Next Tuesday, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide will address the General Assembly of the United Nations and he will then have the opportunity, on behalf of the Haitian Government, to express the gratitude of the Haitian people to the international community for its efforts to restore constitutional order in Haiti.

In the meantime, I should like to express our full satisfaction and our particular thanks to the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his staff, the Secretary-General's Group of Friends and the countries that have joined the multinational force. I should like to assure them all of the complete cooperation of the Haitian Government during this delicate transition.

We hope that, over the coming days, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide will be back in Haiti. When that happens, the Haitian Government will have to address itself immediately to an extremely difficult situation. That said, and until this afternoon's meeting, we wish to express the support of the Haitian Government for the initiative contained in the draft resolution to be submitted with a view to lifting the sanctions the moment President Aristide is back in Haiti.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* There are no further speakers.

The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 10.50 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3430

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3430th Meeting

Thursday, 29 September 1994, 6.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1107)

94-86467 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 6.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Letter dated 27 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1107)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* In accordance with the decision taken at the 3429th meeting, I invite the representative of Haiti to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mrs. Frechette (Canada) and Mr. Manzanares Veloz (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1109, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, France, Haiti, Spain, the United States of America and Venezuela.

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Longchamp *(interpretation from French):* I have genuine pleasure in taking part in this meeting of the Council devoted to consideration of the question of Haiti. After three long years of disappointment and frustrated hopes, the positive developments that we have been witnessing in the situation in Haiti for the last two weeks justify our feeling of optimism and our belief that the tragedy of the Haitian people is approaching its end.

The arrival in Haiti on 19 September of the first components of the multinational force authorized by Security Council resolution 940 (1994) Council has permitted a resumption of the process of the restoration of democracy, in conformity with the Governors Island Agreement - a process which, since the unfortunate withdrawal of the *Harlan County* on 11 October last year, had been paralysed.

Yesterday, for the first time since the *coup d'état*, the constitutional Parliament was able to meet, having been convened by President Aristide, to begin consideration of a draft amnesty law.

This morning, the Mayor of Port-au-Prince, Mr. Evans Paul, resumed his functions after having been prevented from carrying them out by attachés and members of the FRAPH paramilitary group, who had threatened his life.

The disarmament of the Army and the paramilitary forces has begun. High-calibre weapons have been confiscated, and the conduct of the police has markedly improved.

The Haitian people, who have been forced by the brutal repression of the military either to remain silent or to flee in order to escape death, are beginning to express themselves and to exercise their fundamental rights. Demonstrations of support for the return of President Aristide are being held everywhere round the country. Today hope is being reborn in Haiti.

My Government, which has always called for these measures, is fully satisfied with this new course of events.

This positive development has prompted the Security Council to consider the lifting of the sanctions imposed by its resolutions 841 (1993), 873 (1993) and 917 (1994). However, this measure should take effect after the return to Haiti of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

My Government supports this decision, which, in fact, President Aristide, in his statement of 25 September, invited the Council to consider. We fervently hope that the members of the Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution before it.

We are now nearing the goal that we have been pursuing for three years - the departure of the perpetrators of the *coup d'état* and the return of President Aristide. But we have not yet achieved this objective. It would be naive, even irresponsible, on our part to hail a victory while the military are still in control of the country. We must expect manoeuvres on their part designed to shirk their commitments once again.

Despite the presence of the multinational force, acts of violence directed at the population continue. The paramilitary forces continue to sow death. The Haitian people are still paying with their lives for the restoration of democracy in Haiti. Today, just a few hours ago in Port-au-Prince, FRAPH caused new casualties. A grenade was thrown into a crowd which was demonstrating following the reinstatement of the Mayor of Port-au-Prince. This resulted in the death of three persons and the serious wounding of about a dozen others. This grave incident demonstrates the need for the multinational force to speed up disarmament in order to create a stable and secure environment which would make possible the national reconciliation that we desire so much.

President Aristide's return to Haiti in the coming days to resume his functions will be made possible by the resolve of the international community to support the Haitian people in their legitimate aspirations to a democratic society and a state of law.

On Tuesday next, President Aristide, in his address to the General Assembly, will have the opportunity to tell the international community how grateful the Haitian people are for the support that has been demonstrated for them over the last three years and for the efforts that have been made to end their sufferings.

In the meantime, allow me to thank in particular the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who for 22 months now has been dedicating himself to finding a multilateral solution to the Haitian crisis.

My sincere thanks go also to the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General, the countries of the Caribbean Community, the troop-contributing countries, the multinational force and the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) *(interpretation from French):* It is with a feeling of hope that my delegation is addressing the Council today on the question of Haiti. The achievement of the objectives for which we have struggled for so long is approaching - the end of tyranny, the restoration of democracy and the return of President Aristide.

The multinational coalition authorized by the Security Council has been deployed peacefully and is making progress in establishing a secure and stable environment. Recent developments in Haiti are for the most part positive, although we deplore the acts of violence directed against the supporters of President Aristide. We vigorously condemn those recent attacks.

As the Permanent Representative of Haiti has indicated, the Mayor of Port-au-Prince, Mr. Evans Paul, resumed his functions today. At the request of President Aristide, the Parliament is once again in session to adopt legislation provided for in the Governors Island Agreement, in particular on the amnesty and the separation of the police and the armed forces.

Preparations are under way for the redeployment of the International Civilian Mission in Haiti. Next week, an advance team will go to Haiti to prepare for deployment of the United Nations Mission, which will assist Haitians in their efforts to build peace and to establish a stable and democratic society.

(spoke in English)

It is in this promising context that we fully endorse the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council today, which will lift the sanctions regime following the return of President Aristide. It is a clear signal of hope to the Haitian people that the international community remains fully committed to the restoration of democracy in Haiti and stands ready to help Haitians in the challenges of economic recovery that lie ahead. At the same time, it underlines our message to the de facto authorities that they must keep their word and step aside.

For its part, Canada, at President Aristide's request, has already lifted its unilateral ban on commercial air services with Haiti and on financial transactions, except those targeting the military leadership and their supporters.

Canada looks forward to the return of President Aristide in the very near future. We fully support his call for a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation as Haiti moves to take its rightful place among the circle of democratic nations. In the past three years, Canada has provided over $41 million in humanitarian aid. We now stand fully ready to help Haitians face the daunting task of rebuilding their society. We will provide substantial financial and technical assistance to this end.

The Security Council's action today prepares the way for the international community to help Haiti and the Haitians, following President Aristide's return, to build their future.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Since the beginning of the crisis in Haiti, Brazil has lent its consistent support to the diplomatic efforts aimed at restoring democracy to the sister country of Haiti, a member of the Latin American and Caribbean Group of States. Our goal has been clear: the re-establishment of constitutional rule, with the return to power of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide through peaceful means.

My delegation strongly upholds the objective of bringing to an end the sanctions regime imposed against the de facto authorities as soon as President Aristide is reinstated. The immediate end to the suffering of the Haitian people should be a clear priority and must remain at the core of our concerns. Nevertheless, my delegation is not in a position to support the draft resolution before the Security Council today. We believe that to do otherwise would be inconsistent with the well-known position taken by Brazil on previous occasions as regards, in particular, full respect for the principle of non-intervention.

At the last meeting of the Security Council, the Foreign Minister of Brazil stated our position on this issue. The seriousness of the crisis in Haiti requires the continued attention of the international community but does not, in our view, justify any recourse to force. In this sense, my delegation has reservations on certain elements of the current draft resolution that go beyond the question of the termination of sanctions. Our concerns remain unchanged.

The Brazilian Government will continue to work with the international community to promote an early peaceful solution to the crisis. With the restoration to power of President Aristide, assistance to Haiti in the task of national reconstruction will be crucial, and Brazil stands ready to actively participate in it.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The Council's vote today sends a strong political message to Haiti. With this vote, the international community again makes common cause with the Haitian people in their support for President Aristide. We reaffirm that sanctions will be lifted only when the legitimately elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, returns to Haiti and resumes his duties.

By voting today and not waiting for President Aristide's return, the international community's message is clear: there will be no conciliatory gesture while the military remains in power, but when President Aristide and democracy return to Haiti, Haiti can return to the community of nations.

Let me be clear. My Government believes that voting today is the right choice. By voting today, we promote the early departure of the coup leaders, the early return of President Aristide and thus the early restoration of democracy to Haiti. Today, the Haitian people enjoy their first respite from terror since the coup that ousted President Aristide on 30 September 1991, three years ago tomorrow. In this regard, we must note the brave efforts of the members of the multinational force deployed, peacefully and without bloodshed, only two weeks ago.

As noted by Secretary of State Christopher in his remarks to the Council this morning, this draft resolution reinforces Haitian democracy. With it, we take a crucial step towards our common goals: the departure from power of the de facto leaders, the restoration of Haiti's legitimate government and the return of President Aristide.

The hard part now begins: Haiti stands at a crossroads and will require the full support - economic, political and technical - of the international community. We must work together to assist the Haitian people in rebuilding their country. My Government has already committed resources for these efforts. We look to the international community to contribute rapidly and generously, in its turn, so that democracy can truly, and finally, flourish in Haiti.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The Russian delegation is abstaining in the voting on this draft resolution on the lifting of sanctions against Haiti. While supporting the humanitarian direction of this draft, we still have doubts regarding its hasty adoption, and we set out these doubts in detail in the Council's earlier consultations. However, we decided not to object or vote against its adoption, since in this case it is a question of improving an acutely difficult humanitarian situation and alleviating the extreme suffering of the Haitian people.

We have taken note of the information given by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Warren Christopher, and of the report of the United States delegation on the activities of the multinational forces in Haiti, submitted in accordance with paragraph 13 of resolution 940 (1994). We note that these forces are making every effort to establish peace and stability in Haiti so as to make it possible to restore a democratic government and to ensure the return of President Aristide.

We are also concerned at the fact that the situation is not clear as yet as regards the withdrawal from Haiti of the Haitian junta, which continues to hold the levers of power. Although the draft resolution on which we are about to vote is linked to the return of President Aristide, there is still no clear indication as to the time frame for his return.

I should also like to draw attention to the following important consideration: We are profoundly convinced of the need to adhere to a unified, single approach, without exception, to the lifting of the sanctions regime, as regards the observance of general conditions and requirements for everyone. Such an approach would make it possible to clarify the question that naturally arises why some resolutions on the lifting of sanctions are discussed in a series of meetings while others are adopted in just over two days, and adopted in advance when there is no confirmation that these demands have been accepted as put forward by the Security Council.

It is appropriate to recall that, in undisputed questions such as the removal of sanctions from the South African Republic, the Council's decision was prepared and adopted only after the implementation of all the necessary conditions and procedures.

All of this stresses the need, in principle, to work within the United Nations and to develop a flexible mechanism for the gradual mitigation and then the lifting of sanctions, on the basis of political realities.

The Russian delegation intends to promote such an approach in the consideration of questions relating to the lifting of the sanctions regime. We do so, based on the conviction that double standards are inadmissible in the work of the Council.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1109.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Brazil, Russian Federation

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The result of the voting is as follows: 13 in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 944 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: It was with a feeling of hope that my delegation voted in favour of this resolution by which the Council decided to lift the sanctions against Haiti on the very day following the return of President Aristide. I am pleased that this resolution was co-sponsored by the legal Government of Haiti.

France never gives its support lightheartedly to coercive measures against a country. It takes this difficult decision only if it is certain that there is no other way. We have always said that these sanctions, which have been voted on in several stages up to the level of a general embargo, with of course the exception of humanitarian products, would be lifted definitively following the return of the legitimate President. It is a provision which is contained moreover in the Governors Island Agreement and in all of the resolutions of the Security Council. The situation has evolved very quickly in Haiti. It seems to us that the time has come to signal the fact that the return of the legitimate authorities will mark the beginning of normalization for Haiti: first political normalization, with the restoration of democracy, then economic normalization, giving this country an opportunity to return without restriction to the system of international trade. The lifting of the sanctions regime will in our view make it possible to consolidate democracy by ensuring the development of the country.

I recall in this respect that, as the French Minister for Foreign Affairs stated this morning, we are also going to lift the sanctions which we had adopted unilaterally when the technical conditions so permit.

Mr. Wang Xuexian (China)*(interpretation from Chinese)*: The Chinese delegation has been following closely the developments in Haiti and is deeply sympathetic with the Haitian people for the sufferings inflicted upon them by the economic sanctions.

Security Council resolution 944 (1994), just adopted, is aimed at comprehensively lifting the sanctions against Haiti after the return of His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the legitimate President of Haiti, and the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement so as to alleviate the sufferings of the Haitian people and remove the obstacles to the recovery of the Haitian economy. For this we wish to express our welcome and support. The timely lifting of sanctions after reaching their projected goals in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Security Council resolutions is in the interest of all the parties, and especially that of the Haitian people. It was based on this consideration that we voted in favour of resolution 944 (1994).

The Chinese delegation believes that the Security Council should, in handling other, similar cases, adopt a practical attitude to facilitate an appropriate solution as it has done in lifting sanctions against Haiti.

The Chinese delegation would like to point out that it has reservations on some elements in resolution 944 (1994) concerning the sending of a multinational force to Haiti. This is unacceptable to us. China has all along faithfully abided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and is opposed to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and resorting to force or threat of force in international relations. It is our consistent view that the only way to a lasting peaceful settlement lies in dialogue and negotiation.

We support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Organization of American States and the Latin American countries in seeking a political solution to the problem of Haiti, and hope that the adoption of this Security Council resolution will help bring about further progress in the peace process in Haiti.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We are particularly gratified to have been able to co-sponsor the draft resolution that the Council has just adopted. In our view it is a tangible sign of hope, although fully in accordance with the letter and spirit of the earlier resolutions of the Council on Haiti.

In lifting the sanctions against Haiti immediately after the return of the constitutional President to his country we are heralding what appears to be the end of a traumatic stage in the life of that country, and the nascent roots of the democratization of the Haitian people.

We hope that the process which has just been started will be strengthened and expanded in an orderly fashion and in the briefest possible time.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

Let me first reflect on this morning's meeting of the Council, which featured the participation of ministers representing various Council members. During that meeting, the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Warren Christopher, reported on developments in the situation in Haiti. That information, together with the data contained in the report submitted on behalf of the multinational force, provides the Council with important facts that should allow it to make a full assessment of the state of affairs in that distressed country.

Ten days ago, by virtue of this Council's authorization, contained in resolution 940 (1994), a multinational force entered Haiti. The mandate established in that resolution entrusted the force with the task of restoring the legitimate authorities of the Government of Haiti and of ensuring a secure and stable situation that would permit the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) and allow it to assume its functions in accordance with Security Council resolutions.

My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the 28 countries that have made troops available to the multinational force. Their efforts, designed to implement the objectives of the international community in Haiti, deserve the appreciation of that community, which they are representing in their work.

For some time it appeared that the activities of the multinational force would take place in tragic circumstances, inasmuch as the de facto authorities in Port-au-Prince had been persistently defying the international community, failing to fulfil their commitments under the Governors Island Agreement and Security Council resolutions.

Fortunately, the understanding reached by the United States authorities and the de facto authorities in Haiti has changed the immediate context of the international action. The major actors on the Haitian side have agreed to leave their posts by 15 October and to cooperate with the multinational force in its activities. We hope that this time they will honour their commitments.

The Governors Island Agreement provided for the sanctions regime imposed on Haiti to be lifted following the return of President Aristide. The Council, in resolution 940 (1994), also affirmed that it would review the measures imposed pursuant to resolutions 841 (1993) and 917 (1994), with a view to lifting them in their entirety, immediately following the return to Haiti of President Aristide.

In accordance with those provisions, we are today proceeding, by virtue of resolution 944 (1994), to lift the trade and financial embargo on Haiti, as well as the ban on air and marine traffic, upon the return of President Aristide. We do so with a view to alleviating the plight of the Haitian people, which continues to be a subject of concern for the members of the Council, including the delegation of Spain.

Spain joined the countries members of the Group of Friends in the Haitian process and Haiti itself in sponsoring the draft resolution that we have just adopted. It is our view that the lifting of sanctions after the return of President Aristide to Haiti represents another - decisive - step towards implementing the objectives set out in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and in the Governors Island Agreement.

None the less, the international community will remain alert to the course of events in Haiti, to be reported on, in accordance with resolutions 917 (1994) and 940 (1994), by the Secretary-General and the countries taking part in the multinational force.

The return of President Aristide, long awaited by the Haitian people and the international community, will signal the restoration of constitutional legitimacy, but that is just a point of departure.

In this process, which will shortly begin, President Aristide and the legitimate authorities of Haiti will receive the support of personnel of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States - the staff of the International Civilian Mission (MICIVIH), which had been carrying out critically important work in monitoring the human rights situation in Haiti until they were expelled from the country by the de facto authorities. We hope that MICIVIH will soon be fully redeployed. We know that the Secretaries-General of both organizations are already working to that end.

The international community now has the task of assisting in the reconstruction of Haiti and in its economic and social development. An important first step has been taken today as we put an end to the sanctions regime, but the commitment of the international community does not stop there.

On 25 September President Aristide announced the convening of a special session of the Haitian Parliament to consider a draft amnesty law. The Parliament began its deliberations yesterday. The restoration of the Haitian legislative body is in itself a positive development.

The adoption of the amnesty law will mark the beginning of the process of healing the wounds inflicted by the *coup d'état* of September 1991. The consolidation of democracy will be an ongoing task, riddled with risks and problems. We hope and trust that, with the support of the international community, the will of the Haitians

to confront those risks and solve those problems will be greater than the magnitude of the obstacles.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There being no further speakers, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of this matter.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.